7: Joest--60 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554, 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

11: Haguenauer--36 [5] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 304, 554 **Atayal**

By looking at the face of the person to whom you are talking, you can learn much about his rank as a warrior; for the lucky hero has some additional tattooing under his lower lip.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 554 Atayal

A man never goes out unarmed, less for the sake of his own security than for the sake of his prestige.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
554, 533, 721 Atayal

The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

24: Anonymous--92 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 554, 721

There is another people on this island; they live in caves and thus resemble the ancestors of the Chinese. They love to kill people and they hand to their enemies' skulls, after they have skinned them and adorned them with ornaments of gold, in their dwellings as a sign of their courage.

31; Hofmann--606-607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 554, 721 Atayal

Beyond Taikokan, to the east, the mountains ascend steeply. During the bloody battles in 1907, the foothills were wrested from the Malayans. The tribe which lives here, the Atayal, belongs to the Seiban group (the "red savages"); this is a tribe of headhunters which is feared greatly. The practice of headhunting is or was characteristic of most of the Malayan tribes. [607] The natives decapitate their enemies, among whom they include neighboring tribes as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. The headhunters are not, however, a courageous people. They lie in ambush and take the enemy by surprise, usually while he is at work; then they cut off his head which they preserve as a trophy at home. If a native has taken the head of an enemy, this is his badge of courage. This cruel custom is so deeply rooted in the beliefs and traditions of the Malayans that all attempts to combat it so far have proved unsuccessful.

31: Hofmann--609-610 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721

I tried, by asking the most reliable informants, to find out the reasons why the aborigines were headhunters; I did not limit [610] this inquiry to the natives in the north, the region I visited, but included those in the south as well. I made this attempt especially because, according to many sources, the aborigines are also cannibals; none of these sources, however, has advanced proof of this fact. Thus Fischer (1) tells the

1. Fischer: Streifzüge durch die Insel Formosa. Berlin, 1899.

story of a chieftain who offered his own child as food to a neighboring chieftain. These horror tales are hard to believe about a people which is not, comparatively speaking, on a very low level of development. The natives are not a nomadic group; they are a settled group living by agriculture, although it is true that their agriculture is very primitive. The motive for headhunting is simply that the head of an enemy forms a tangible proof of courage. The natives keep these trophies in the same way that they keep the antlers of stags or the tusks and heads of boar which they have hunted down.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

31: Hofmann-610-611 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 554, 583, 695, 721, 782

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor; [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting; these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

34: Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 291 [301] are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiɕi*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *ɕinilɨɕi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmaɨ*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.